by the increasing current of modern ideas and development, have stimulated from within a desire to shake off the shackles of the old order. To some extent the old order is adapting itself to modern conditions, though there are still, for instance, diehard conservatives among the church party, who, fearful for the disappearance of their power and prestige, cling to a bigotry which refuses recognition to any innovations. While the reactionaries among this class offer a problem to the progressive elements in the country which time will probably solve, there are greater difficulties to be faced in contending with unruly elements among the tribesmen.

Many of these latter have, by emigration, secured sufficient wealth to acquire immovable property, have settled and allied themselves with the townsmen and property-owning Seiyids in a movement to promote peace and safety, but some of the great remainder who prefer a nomadic existence, cling to ancestral habits of raiding, take by force what they cannot buy, or live on blackmail paid by the harassed landed classes to secure immunity. Even the honest carrier is apt to show a more than passive resistance when he fears that the increasing motor transport will deprive himself and his camel of their daily bread.

The surprising modern developments in the Kathīri dominions owe their inception mainly to private enterprise, but in the Qu'aiti state there is superimposed over the curious diversity of social conditions a Government which attempts a compromise between the methods of the west, probably borrowed mostly from Indian contacts, and indigenous institutions.

During the last few years the Hadhramaut has become increasingly known to Europeans. A number of travellers, official and otherwise, have visited the country since the war, and, owing to the Royal Air Force and to an increase of Political staff regular and more frequent contact has been established. A landing-ground at Shibam makes the interior easy of access, for it is now less than five hours from Aden. The appearance of Royal Air Force visitors has largely increased the number of Europeans seen in the main Wadi, so that the large towns there, scarcely visited till a few years ago, seem on the way to becoming, as it were, tourist centres. The Navy, too, play an important part in the dissemination of good-will and friendship by their visits to Mukalla. Apart from this the constant emigration of Hadhramis to other countries has meant an increasing infiltration of western ideas. The age-long seclusion of the country has gone, and though outside the towns conditions of life are, for the most part, still primitive, the Hadhramaut appears to be changing almost despite itself.

The main problems to be faced in the Hadhramaut are the establishment of friendly relations between the Qu'aiti and Kathīri on a basis of mutual trust and co-operation, and the stabilization of Qu'aiti and Kathīri rule in their respective countries. I could not help the conclusion that many of the things which the Qu'aiti

162

KATHIRI SULTANATE.

Towns		36,700
Tribesmen, 4,900	say	14,700
		51,400
	say	51,500
Total		230,500
Add for Seiyids (see Chapter V) not elsewhere enumerated		5,000
		235,500
	say	200,000

Languages used in the Hadhramaut.

197 There appear always to have been peculiarities in the language of the Hadhramaut. It may be of interest to record here that on the fragment of inscriptions found near Meshhed the third "S", the Hebrew *Samekh*, rare in other dialects of South Arabian, occurs frequently, and this is a distinctive feature of the Hadhramaut dialect. Another feature is the replacement of the modern "th" (*thā*) by "sh", thus *Shalasa* (the latter "s" being *samekh*) is "three" in Hadhramaut. The Mahri language, which, as it is spoken in the lower reaches of the Hadhramaut valley and westwards as far as Museina'a, may be included in the languages of the Hadhramaut, is said to be a modern representative of the ancient South Arabian.

But of more practical modern interest it is worth drawing attention to the difficulty of recording place and tribal names correctly when one's informants are illiterate, and there are eccentricities in accent and in the pronunciation of letters. In certain areas of the western part of the Protectorate the letter *jīm* becomes the *gīm* of Egypt. This sound also occurs in parts of the Hadhramaut, but so also do *jīm* and another variant *yīm*. Thus the village of Al Juwada in the Wadi Ser is called Al Yuwāda. *Qāf* is universally *gāf* in the Hadhramaut and indistinguishable from *gīm*.

191 It is of political interest to emphasize the spread of two introduced
177 languages—Malay and Swahili. It would be possible to travel over the whole country with either. Malay is in many cases almost more a mother-tongue than Arabic. There are many children of mixed blood, and many Malay or Javanese wives seem to have been introduced into the country. I was often told that there are children who speak Malay with more facility than Arabic, and Malay is a language regularly spoken in many homes.

Swahili has not attained this standard, but owing to the large numbers of people who go to East Africa it is very widely known as a second language. The great majority of those who speak it are of course Arabs, but there are a few slaves who speak it as a mother-tongue. I did not experience or hear of many cases like this in the Hadhramaut, but noticed a remarkable number further east in Merbat. Hindustani is a well-known language in certain

Yafa'i circles in the Hadhramaut. Some of the Seiyids of the Hadhramaut have an enigmatical way of speaking Arabic amongst themselves.

Currency.

The currency consists of rupees and Maria Theresa dollars. The exchange value of the latter depends on the price of silver, and in November 1934, when much of the information contained in this report was collected, the dollar was practically equivalent to a rupee. For this reason the two denominations were often used indifferently. By mid-May 1935, the rate was Rs.149 to $100 in Aden and Rs.150 to $100 in Mukalla.

Small change is almost entirely British Indian, though there are a few Mukalla pice, a little Javanese money, and some Italian lire from Somaliland. Indian notes circulate fairly freely in Mukalla. The copper coins are called *besa* and the other Indian change *shauli bauli*. Generally speaking, any known money will be exchanged. In the towns of the main Wadi many ancient coins pass for small change, and there are also a number of small coins struck by the Al Kaf family. Small change is given for dollars according to their relative value with rupees.

Weights and Measures.

The weights and measures in use in Mukalla are as follows:—

1 Qoda.—The weight of 4 annas.
1 Waqia.—1 English ounce.
1 Ratl.—1 English pound.
1 Frasila.—20 lb. of fish or 32 lb. of shells.
1 Gubban.—25 lb. for gum.
1 Bahar.—10¾ Aden maunds or 300 English lb. of tobacco, or 360 lb. of dates, but dates from the interior 300 lb.
1 Qosra.—160 lb. of Basra dates. Trucial Oman dates are in packages of 70-80 lb. They are of an inferior quality.
1 Ma'bar.—A basket of 30-40 lb. of *Wazif* (dried *'aid* fish).

In Shibam the pound is of 12 ounces; 28 lb. equal 1 *frasila*, and 14 *frasilas* 8 lb. equal one *bahar*.

Measures of Length.

1 Banan—1 finger's breadth.
2 Shubrs—1 Dhirra.
2 Dhirras—1 Wara.
1 Wara—1 Yard.

Measures of Capacity.

As a general rule liquids are sold by weight; there is however a small measure used for oil called a *Baura*. Such a quantity is sold for one or two pice.

Calendar.

For official and sometimes for business purposes, when dealing with Europeans, the date is expressed A.D. as well as A.H., but

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as a general rule only the Muhammadan calendar is used. As it is used in internal affairs of Government, it appears in this report. I left Aden for the Hadhramaut on 29th October 1934, which is equivalent to 20th Rajab, 1353, and returned on 1st January, 1935, or 26th Ramadhan, 1353.

In Mukalla and Shihr the time is officially considered to be half-an-hour in advance of Aden, and is announced by the beating of gongs, somewhat erratically it must be confessed, at police posts. This is a familiar kind of public clock to those who know East Africa. The hours are marked in these towns in the European way, but in the interior the Arab reckoning is followed, and the day ends at sunset which is 12 o'clock. Thus our Wednesday night is the " night of Thursday " and 7 p.m. or 7 a.m. is one o'clock. It is curious that in most other parts of the Protectorate the Arabs have adopted the European reckoning of the hours, learnt of course from Aden.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY IN INSCRIPTION AND TRADITION.

1. The Early History of the Hadhramaut.

" What a famous man believes as to his remote ancestral origins is often of more import than the dry, literal truth." With these words a great biographer began his biography of a great man. They apply perhaps with almost equal force to a country. What the people believe of their early history is often more important in the shaping of their future history than the forgotten truth. Certainly it has seemed so to me with the history of the Hadhramaut. For this reason I have summarized in some detail the traditional, and often orthodox, account of its origins, continuing it in one narrative to modern times, and leaving it to the reader to decide at which point he cares to accept it as a record of actual happening.

I propose to preface to the narrative a short summary of the history of the country, as far as it has been gleaned to date, from the South Arabian, commonly called Himyaritic, inscriptions. Before these inscriptions, of which comparatively few have as yet been published, were discovered and deciphered, knowledge of ancient South Arabian history was derived from a few scripture texts and some treasured references in Greek and Latin authors. Apart from this, there were only Arab sources. The witness of the monuments and modern exploration have abundantly confirmed the former and seriously impeached the latter.

The amount of information to be gleaned from the classical geographers can be written in a very few lines. Strabo, after mentioning the Sabaeans and the Katabanaeans, says " lastly furthest to the east are the Chatramotitae, having the city of Sabata." He also says " Kattabania produces incense, but Chatramotitis myrrh." Theophrastus in his *History of Plants* says

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105 more popular and provides the something of excitement which has given a zest to raiding. It should not be forgotten that some of our own games were war games.

The Beduin proletariat and the capitalist townsmen are mutually necessary to each other. The Beduins do all the carrying trade and supply the firewood and their other scanty products to the towns, and the merchants sell to the Beduins what they require of food, clothing, and other necessaries of life. The brokers of the Beduins to be found in all the towns supply the link between the two. They live on helping the Beduins to sell their produce to, and buy their requirements from, the merchants, and on helping the merchants to obtain the transport they need.

Housing.

343 Each town in the Hadhramaut has its own individual characteristics as regards housing. Although the houses of coastal towns are
362 all of the familiar Arab type built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Mukalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not six feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces. Away from the coast, mud is the almost universal building medium, and sun-dried mud bricks are used alike in building the palaces of the rich and the simple *dars* of the poor.

342 In the Wadi Du'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks
353 of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and rusty red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Du'an houses, the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of '*elb*' wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide
[531] heavily-carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, two inches across the heads, burnished with lead till they shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development in Du'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living-room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained '*elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of '*elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring bone pattern.

342 In Tarim the principal feature is the large number of enormous
177 dwelling-houses in a style copied from Malaya but built of mud bricks.

[1] Other Arabic names are *sidr* and *nebk*. *Zizyphus Spina-Christi*, L.

bricks. The cost of building the house in which we stayed in Tarim was $60,000. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and fans, telephones, ice-plants, and European modern conveniences in the bathrooms, wash-basins with running water and shower-baths. Whereas in Du'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be found, these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Large and comfortable chairs and sofas decorate the drawing-rooms, and there are English carpets, masses of gilt mirrors, chandeliers and glass cupboards full of marmalade dishes, egg-cups and so on. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel-back over the mountains for six days.

The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun have to contend with in their building operations is the difficulty of procuring long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree grows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees (*Conocarpus erectus*, Jacq.) growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseila, they cannot be transported by camels. The difficulty is being surmounted to some extent by experiments in the making of reinforced concrete pillars of which I saw two in construction at Seiyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seiyids training their masons. The interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such as gold crowns and coloured flowers, are covered with a lime plaster polished with smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, which is in the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area 500 houses built on a slight eminence in the Wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears to be one enormous brown mud built construction with a whitewashed top storey and roof. There is no further building room in the town and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild. By general consent, houses in Shibam are not now to be built more than six storeys high in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher, but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this type of house which, when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars. Bigger houses are constructed of two or more houses built together. The life of a house is said to be 200 to 250 years, but the age it reaches depends on the privies being kept dry and cleaned out regularly. If this is not done, the damp saps the lower part of the clay walls and causes splits, necessitating demolition.

361 Outside the walls of Shibam in the rich man's suburb of Sebeil
342 there are villas, some of them built in East Indian style but none
of them as big as those in the city. Several houses in these Had-
177 hramaut towns are provided with most attractive and welcome
swimming pools in which the water is usually kept running by means
of small petrol engines.

342 The general principles of house construction seem to be pretty much the same all over the upper Hadhramaut, but it is really only in the main Wadi that elaborate structures are found. Apart from the *dars* in which many of the tribesmen live, and which leave much to be desired from the standpoint of hygiene, it may be interesting to record that in one Wadi through which we travelled, to the north of the main Wadi towards the desert, I found troglodyte Beduins living in caves in the walls of the Wadi. The front of these caves was usually built up with dry stone walling, leaving only a small gap for the entrance of man and beast. Down the Wadi Maseila between Qabr Hud and the sea the Manahil and the Mahra live in huts built of sticks not more than five feet high. In two villages on the Mahra coast many of the inhabitants lived in tents of matting.

Wages and Cost of Living in the Towns.

000 The manner of living adopted by the wealthy of the Hadhramaut and by the tribesmen is sufficiently indicated in other parts of this report. The following notes give an indication of the condition of the wage-earning classes in the towns.

511 For labourers the cost of living is said to be cheaper in Mukalla
435 than in Aden. Firewood and water are free, and there is nothing to pay in the way of ground rent. Rents are very low; as an example, a large building of five storeys costing Rs.15,000 to build would not fetch Rs.20 a month in rent. There is no tax
651 on property. The people in the towns pay their tithes straight to
735 the poor and not to Government.

465 Masons and carpenters receive a rupee and a-half a day, and
435 their assistants nine to ten annas. Labourers generally receive from nine to twelve annas a day. Coolies on ships are paid twelve annas and food. In Mukalla, porters receive from one pice to two annas a load according to distance. From the Customs to the western gate of the town (just over a mile) is two annas, but most carries are those earning two or three pice. The price paid for carrying water to houses from the public fountains attached to the town water-supply of Mukalla is two pice a tin and three pice for two tins.

In Kanina, Hajr province, masons receive a rupee a day, and their assistants five annas. Carpenters are paid by piece work. Three pice is paid for carrying one load of water on donkey back from below the town. Field labourers are paid five dollars and food a month or by piece work.

In Shibam, masons earn a dollar a day, and their assistants from half to five-eighths of a dollar. Carpenters also receive a dollar a day. 465

Mr. Heald writes:—

"The general diet in the hill villages consisted of rice (when procurable), dates, and millet bread, and the dried fish carried up from Mukalla on camels; vegetables were very scarce. During the war, when supplies were cut off from Aden and India, the people suffered very much from the lack of grain, as the country could not supply their normal requirements. 262

"Coffee was unknown in the hills and its place was taken by the gingerly and carraway seed; tobacco was not so much used by the Beduins as by the Mukalla people, who smoked it in home-made hookahs, but all chewed ground-up tobacco leaves mixed with carbonate of soda and even the ashes from the fire; no doubt a call from nature to supply the lack of lime in their rice diet, as the Betel nut chewing in Ceylon. . . . 272 276

"Where labour was employed—which was extremely rare—the hire was generally paid by kind; town labour was usually one rupee per diem, and I heard that by piece-work in the stone cutting a man earned up to two rupees a day; our camp labourer received ten rupees a month and food." 465

Women in the Hadhramaut.

Well-to-do women live in complete seclusion, never going outside unless heavily veiled. They spend their days in the harem, where they superintend the servants in haphazard fashion, sew their clothes, or drink tea and gossip with their friends. Up to 10 years of age the girls are free to come and go as they please, but then they take to the veil, and usually are married when they are about 13 or 14. The chief amusements of the harem are weddings, visits to the fairs held in honour of some saint, or occasional excursions either by car or on foot to a neighbour's house. Like the rest of the women in the Hadhramaut the rich are nearly all illiterate and have but the vaguest idea of the world outside, though an interest in what is going on beyond their walls is not lacking. But, as one would expect, clothes and jewelry are among their principal distractions. 562 [358] [582] [570]

There are a certain number of women, Malay and Chinese, from Java and Singapore in the country, who apparently live an existence of utter boredom; thanks to them, foreign fashions in dress are popular, but only among the wealthy families. Although a few women from abroad have come into the Hadhramaut, it is very rare to hear of a Hadhrami woman leaving her country, though there are some to be found in Aden, and they occasionally make the journey to Mecca. 562 177 167

The tribeswomen lead a very much harder life than their sisters in the towns, and are of greater economic importance to their country. From an early age they are sent out to guard the flocks, 462

Sultan 'Awadh dealt with on the same footing as those of the Hadhramaut. 643 171

Although the Indian connection is not a popular one with the indigenous inhabitants of the Hadhramaut, the dominant Yafa'i section of the population finds no objection to it, and it has in fact been the means of the introduction of a more advanced system of Government than any to be found elsewhere in the Protectorate, with the possible exception of Lahej where the enlightened rule of the 'Abdali dynasty again owes much to external influence, namely, to its close proximity to Aden. It has already been sufficiently indicated that Sultan 'Umar and his brother have been largely responsible for many of these improvements. After travelling in the western part of the Protectorate the contrast between the conditions in the Lower Yemen and those in the Hadhramaut are indeed remarkable. I do not think that anywhere else in the Protectorate the power of one authority is to be found extended over such a large area of country. There is a more than embryonic show of good order and organized Government in Qu'aiti territory on the coast, in the Mukalla and Shihr provinces, and up through the Du'an province to the Shibam province. This much I have seen with my own eyes and have observed the close contact between Provincial and Central Governments. From all accounts the condition is the same in the Hajr province. By his system of political arrangements with the tribes in and around Qu'aiti territory the Sultan has done much to make travel secure and easy. He has an army and police force in which discipline and administration are not lacking. 642 185

Apart from this comparatively satisfactory policing of the country, there is a growing tendency to promote educational and other social services in the Qu'aiti dominions, especially in Mukalla and Shihr, and there is in those parts a very colourable imitation of the machinery of western Government.

Although the rule over the Hadhramaut has thus been influenced to a large extent by Indian ideas, and although excessive Indianisation is unpopular with the pure Hadhramaut elements, nevertheless the administration escapes a great deal of unpopularity by its employment of local Arabs and slaves throughout the interior of the country. Even in the Kathīri camp I found that Sultan 'Umar was personally popular, and during his tour through the country he was very well received. 642 177 186 643

The interior of the Qu'aiti territory is now fast catching up with the coast in its connection with the outside world. Recent years have seen far more visitors enter the interior then ever before and they are universally well received. In addition there are connections in the Shibam province with the East Indies, and in the Du'an province with Egypt, Sudan, and Abyssinia. Everywhere there are connections with East Africa, and these are extensive among the Tamimis where I found some indication of a desire for settled administration. 609

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

year, without considering special expenditure. It is fortunate that these families give attention to the affairs of Government and have been able to help to place the administration of the town of Tarim, for example, on a business footing. The families include men of considerable wealth who have made fortunes in Singapore where they own a lot of property acquired and developed in two generations. The Al Kaf family, who, by the way, are mostly British subjects, pay (I give the figure from memory) 120,000 Straits dollars a year in taxation in Singapore, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman, the head of the family, is a Justice of the Peace.

But it is not only among the wealthiest members of the community that there are signs of a growing desire for peace and progress. I have recorded elsewhere that, as well as in Qu'aiti territory, there are tribesmen of the Shenafir who have expressed a desire for settled administration and stated their willingness to pay taxes. As a whole the Kathīri people are the most wealthy of the inhabitants of the Hadhramaut. Their wealth is very largely derived from the East Indies, and principally from the Dutch colonies; but, as will be seen in the part of this report dealing with emigration, the Hadhrami wherever he settles is always a Hadhrami, and he looks on his beloved valley as a home to which he wishes to return. Abroad under a British or Dutch aegis he acquires a taste for peace and security. The money he makes he sends home, and, as stated elsewhere, the amount remitted from the East Indies is about seven lakhs of rupees a month. Once he has acquired property he ceases to be a Beduin with nothing to lose and becomes a landed proprietor with a large and expensive residence which he does not wish to see destroyed.

I have said that the Qu'aiti need guidance in their very creditable schemes of progress, the Kathīri want it in order to achieve peace and security.

CHAPTER XII.

QU'AITI-KATHĪRI RELATIONS.

Between Qu'aiti and Kathīri there is, unhappily, profound mistrust. This, however, can be well understood when the history of the country is understood, and when it is remembered that old hates in the East generally remain fresh long after the events which gave rise to them have passed. The Kathīri, not unnaturally, has cherished a grudge against the people who deprived him of what was once his country. The Qu'aiti retains a fear that he may yet lose what he has so hardly won. He realizes no doubt that except for British backing, which has sometimes been erratic in its application, it might well be possible for the Kathīris, original owners of the country, to call to their aid the other indigenous people of the Hadhramaut, including their old allies, and drive out the invader. The Qu'aiti also cherishes, perhaps, the hate that one party often bears towards the party it has wronged.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Hurricane fighter and a mobile canteen for blitzed areas in England. The women of Mukalla have made bandages for the Red Cross in Egypt regularly since 1942.

That is a brief comparison between the Qu'aiti State in 1936 and in 1944: and progress has been made in other ways too. In case the picture seems too favourable, it should be remembered that the famine, due to the loss of over £600,000 a year in remittances from Singapore and Java, seven years' drought, the difficulty of getting food and its high price, the loss of 50 per cent of the working camels, and the difficulties of shipping, has had a very grave effect on the country, but has on the whole hit the interior rather than the coast. His Majesty's Government came to the rescue by voting over £300,000 for famine relief, and by providing air transport for grain, but in dealing with the progress of the Qu'aiti State it is right to record that the Government and the merchants have done their best, and the 1944 estimates included about three lakhs of rupees for famine relief, both by direct grants and by the provision of public works. A voluntary cess by merchants on their imports, the contribution by Government servants of 1 per cent of their salaries, and other charitable efforts raised a fair amount more; and soup kitchens, infirmaries and so on were provided at the coast for refugees from the interior.

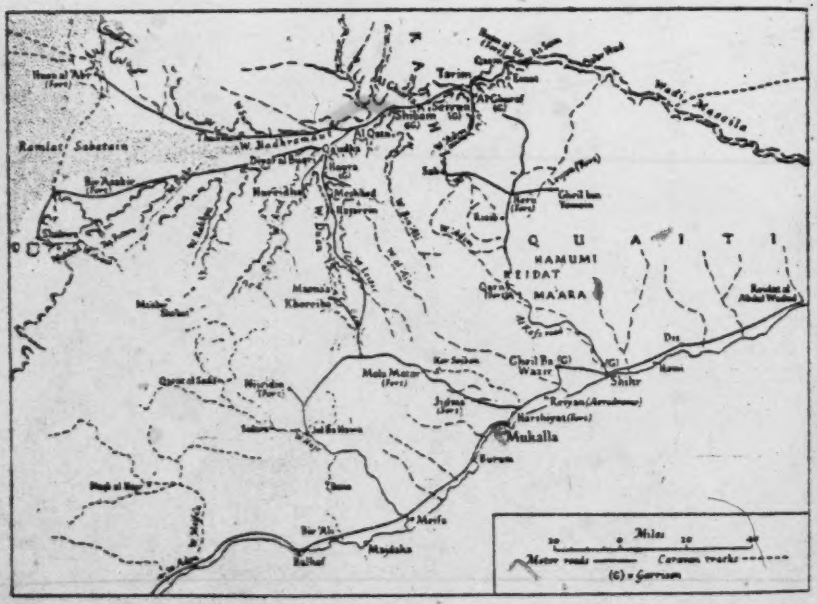
Nature of the People and Country

Before describing the methods used in building up the Qu'aiti administration, something must be said about the nature of the people and their country to explain why unusual methods were required. The Hadhramaut is in many ways different from the rest of Arabia, from which it is for the most part separated by desert on all sides, but since it has a seaboard its people have always been able to find a living across the sea. They have had to do this because most of the 70,000 odd square miles of the country is irreclaimable desert and it is unlikely that it could ever support more than a quarter of the population. In other lands they have come to know Western rule but for the most part it has had few attractions for them. They generally find the trammels of an ordered life irksome, and throw them aside as happily as they drop their tarbushes and tussore suits for a waist cloth and indigo when they come back.

The nature of the country provides an explanation of the nature of the people. The vast and barren areas of mountain and jol have bred in the bedouin a deep sense of freedom and an unwillingness to yield it to anyone, for it is all he possesses. In the deep valleys of the hinterland the horizon is bounded by walls a thousand feet high and this has bred in the people an exclusiveness which it would be hard to find elsewhere. In the towns and villages of these valleys a most particular form of religion has grown up. There is none of the free brotherhood of Islam, but a system of classes of seiyids, of settled tribesmen with few of the virtues of the desert bedouin, of money-lending immigrant Yafa'i tribesmen from the west, of descendants of African slaves, of merchant townsmen, and of hard working

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

serfs whose economic condition is so oppressive that they have almost fallen to the level of the beasts whose labours they share on their wells. The seiyids dominate the life and thought of the country and, though some of them, those with whom the Westerner comes into contact, have furnished their houses with most of the comforts, many of the luxuries and still more of the barbarities of the West, Western influence ceases at that point and they have been described as "members of the most fanatical sect in Arabia." There are over 20,000 of them in the country and with their families they probably represent about a fifth of the population. The Hadhramaut is also a particular and holy land for it contains the tomb of the prophet Hud and a whole host of minor prophets and saints.



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The country contains the most extraordinary contrasts. Civilization ranges from extremes of luxury and comfort to utter squalor, from considerable culture to complete savagery. The poor town classes usually have enough to eat but no margin, the bedouins live on the verge of starvation. You find the highest standard of morality among the bedouin, but in the towns and especially on the coast vice is all too common: theft, however, is surprisingly rare. Formal religious observance among the settled people is widespread but there are few "good" men. Those there are stand out like beacons. Among the bedouin there is less formal observance (some tribes scarcely pray or fast) but a higher standard of honour

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

together. Kathiri economy is almost wholly dependent on funds remitted to Seiyun and Terim from extensive Far East business holdings of great Kathiri families like the House of al-Kaf. Over a century ago, branches of these families emigrated to Singapore and Java in search of happier livelihoods than those provided in their own infertile homeland. Today, vast blocks of property in metropolitan Singapore and Jakarta are held by scions of these early Hadhrami entrepreneurs. Estimated revenue from such holdings has been put at $2,500,000 yearly.[9]

East Indian influences are by no means solely fiscal. Malay is virtually the court language at Seiyun and certainly the common tongue among the educated classes. The routine dress of a Kathiri gentleman is a high-collared tunic reminiscent of the Indian *sherwani* and worn over a sarong.

The most casual survey of this unlikely country would be incomplete without mention of that extraordinary old patriarch, Seyyed Sir Bubakr al-Kaf, K. B. E., present head of the al-Kaf family. If a whole country can be said to live under the shadow of one man's private charities, the Kathiri State is it, with Sir Bubakr the personification of the seignioral patron. Though in his seventies, he is still the dominating personality of the Hadhramaut and his millions the source of much of its prosperity. In 1937, he built the first motorable road from Shihr, on the Hadhramaut coast inland to Terim, a distance of a hundred miles, thus providing convenient egress over a route previously negotiable only by camel and requiring many days travel time. Today, Aden Airways Ltd., operates a regular plane service between Aden Colony and Hauta, in Kathiri territory. In addition, Sir Bubakr is responsible for much of the state's urban electrification, many of its medical services, schools and, yes, even cinemas. It is in large measure due to his efforts that the Kathiri State of Hadhramaut stands today on the threshold of the twentieth century.

[9] W. H. Ingrams, *Report on the Social, Economic and Political Conditions in the Hadhramaut*. London: Colonial Office, 1936.

4: Ingrams G-3 (no date) 1935 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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HOUSE BUILDING IN THE HADHRAMAUT

W. H. INGRAMS

DURING a recent tour in the Hadhramaut my wife and I collected some notes on the building of houses. Each town in the country has its own individual characteristics. Although the houses of coastal towns are all of the familiar Arab type, built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Makalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not 6 feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces.

In the Wadi Do'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and ruddy red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Do'an houses the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of *'elb* [1] wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide heavily carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, 2 inches across the heads, burnished with lead, which shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development of Do'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained *'elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of *'elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring-bone pattern.

In Terim the principal feature is the large number of enormous dwelling-houses in a style copied from Malaya but built of mud bricks. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and fans, telephones, ice plants, and modern European conveniences in the bathrooms. Whereas in Do'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be found these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel back over the mountains for six days, and while I mention this it is worth recording that there are sixty cars in Terim itself, each of which has been transported in parts by twelve camels from the coast.

The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seyyids of Terim and Seyyun have to contend with in their building operations is the difficulty of getting long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree trows to no great height, and although we found *'eriata* trees growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Masilah, they cannot be transported by

[1] The commoner Arabic name is *sidr*, *Rhamnus nubica*.

?: Stuhler-Rasmussen T-3 (1950-51) 1963 MAE Hadhramaut MAE

killed two of his cousins because of some rivalry between them, and not more than fifteen years ago there were cases of open piracy at Balhaf. Such incidents will illustrate that it is not easy country to travel through or to subjugate, isolated as it is behind roadless mountains and plateaux. There are some 500 miles of this barren, rough country, where the people are fiercely independent and distrustful of outsiders. It was long impossible to travel right across it, and it has been done by only very few people, chiefly by the Dutch explorer Van der Meulen, who has crossed it three times.

Considering the geography it is not surprising that modern civilization, and particularly European civilization, has never penetrated the interior of this peninsula. In such outcrops of continents as this all civilization seems to come and go very slowly, and so does life itself. The Indo-European civilization, which started in the Fertile Crescent before the time of Ur of the Chaldeans, has only very slowly percolated down to this outcrop of Asia, as it did in the peninsulas of India and Malaya; once there, it remained static and almost intact for 4,000 years. When one goes to Hadhramaut now one can almost imagine living in the time of Abraham of Ur and the Chaldeans.

The Hadhramis themselves trace back their ancestry and history to Noah, from whom they descend through Sem and his grandson Ad, who is their legendary father of the giant race, and from whom in turn descends *Hathermaveth*, whose name means "Death is Present" and became "Hadhramaut." This shows that in those far-off days the Arabs of Southern Arabia were hardly less bellicose than they were until the British came to Hadhramaut in 1934, when Mr. Ingrams started negotiating cessation of wars and blood feuds.

Hadhramaut, we know then, lies 400 miles from Aden eastwards along a roadless coast, across merciless basalt mountains, quicksand, dunes and deserted beaches—400 miles of sand and rock and ragged cliffs, with only five unknown bedouin fishing hamlets en route. Going along this coast—be it by plane, dhow or, at last, since 1951 by pioneer desert trucks—one can hardly believe that any form of life is possible inside or behind these torrid treeless wastes. For behind these coastal ranges, to the north, we know it is the great desert that covers all Southern Arabia, the Empty Quarter, which has but four or five oases along the 600- or 700-mile camel route that crosses it. Neither from north nor south is there seemingly any life vein, nor from east nor west. Yet it is here that we shall find the valley of Hadhramaut.

Like the hidden valley of Petra, Hadhramaut has remained secluded throughout the centuries, but with this difference: the valley of Hadhramaut is not dead.

When one has braved the 400 miles of desolation eastward from Aden, one suddenly comes upon a great scintillating white harbour; a crescent moon wedged between an azure bay and blistering pink rocks. This is Mukalla, the beautiful white-and-blue port, the cup of its harbour filled with many little native craft and sailing dhows. Behind the town there seems nothing but endless waste tableland with one or two poor bedouin hamlets—the Jol, rising to 6,000 feet and stretching 150 miles inland. But

?: Starler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Now they cover the building in white plaster all over, and the charming ornamentation in darts and trefoils is lost.

The oldest building in Shibam, the castle, which may be anything from 80 to 150 years old, still shows this decoration in horizontal bands of white round the windows. It seems an old bedouin tradition, for I have found it in remote bedouin villages. So all these old, charming and vigorous forms—dart motifs, broad bands, crenellated terraces, carved and nail-studded doors and graceful mucharabias for the ladies to look down into the street from the high terraces—are being abandoned. The present-day Hadhrami thinks them old-fashioned and copies the Indian and pseudo-Classic styles he has seen in Java and Singapore. Niches are filled in; and instead of the flat, low relief white ornaments (all shapes receding because the mud crumbles and the yearly rainfalls wash them away) we now find entablatures, pediments, balusters and pilasters, designed for much more lasting materials, like stone, and which here soon become shabby.

Shibam, the old-fashioned, has only just begun to suffer from this. Going, also, is one of the amenities of the Arab house: the coffee corner. In almost every room and terrace there was a little dais in a cool and shaded corner by a window where the master or mistress sat to make coffee for the guests. In the walls behind the dais there were niches specially shaped to take the pestle and mortar, the charcoal tin, the cups, and a small cupboard to lock away the precious ingredients—coffee, ginger and sugar. On the window-sill there was often a tall jar for the water and a runnel for waste water to flow away. Instead of these we now find the tea ceremony round the samovar in the middle of the floor, the little dais being broken away.

But we now move to the most fashionable of the Hadhramaut towns—to Saiywun and Terim and the many surrounding small towns. Here one finds a different type of people. There are many merchants too, but here we find another leading class, also great landowners in Java and Singapore. These are Sayyids, members of the eighty holy families, descendants of Mohammed, who live in these towns beside the lower classes. They have been the spiritual and temporal lords of the country for centuries. They have authority in matters of justice and civil affairs, and they are believed to have healing gifts. Until recently they were the undisputed rulers of the country. Now their power wanes before more democratic forms.

These people live in shining white palaces in the manner of *grands seigneurs*. They wear long white silk coats or the Indian silk longie and pastel-shaded shirts. The ladies, up till recently, wore heavy satin embroidered and sequin-covered kimono-like gowns, bunched into a low silver belt round the hips. Now these are forbidden as they cannot be washed. They wear their hair in hundreds of fine plaits. Up to the age of eight little girls may show face and hair, then they cover hair and neck with a close-fitting shawl and at twelve they go into purdah completely.

Their houses are built in a solid square block without inner courtyard and with windows on all four sides. Even the old streets are fairly wide in these towns that lie in the foothills. The more modern houses are surrounded by a walled garden. They are completely divided into two, one

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

usually owns one or two dromedaries and with these joins other tribal associates in moving cargo both to and from the coast. Flour, sugar, rice, tea, cloth, timber, and dates, in which the country is not self-sufficient, are brought to the Hadhramaut from distant lands

FIG. 22—The Sultan of Qishn, accompanied by three Bedouin councilors, is attired in a turban and wears a curved dagger in his belt. Mr. W. H. Ingrams is at the extreme right. Note the Bedouins' well formed features and general attire, especially the sarong, which has been introduced by Hadhrami emigrants returning from the Malay States.

by sailing dhows and tramp steamers. A large part of the cargo, together with locally produced dried fish and fish oil, is distributed by caravan to the interior. Because exports—chiefly skins—are meager, the caravans must make their return journey empty or, at best, only lightly laden. The balance of exchange necessary to provide the excess imports is obtained from the remittances of thousands who have emigrated and are now living abroad, chiefly in the Malay States and along the east coast of Africa.

There are two methods of contracting for the services of a caravan and its many owners, each of whom insists on feeding, caring for, packing, and driving his own beast of burden—either by the day or for a fixed sum between certain points along a prescribed route. The latter plan is preferable, since it precludes any possible benefit to the camel owner from slow travel; but even with an incentive to progress he hesitates to push his animals more than 12 miles a day, and he is skilled in the fabrication of excuses. The men argue at great length about their respective loads before the morning start. A favorite maneuver is to put a slow camel at the head of the line. The inexperienced traveler may also be sidetracked by tales that no

the Dutchman by the hand, and Sayyid Ḥasan walks on his other side. Von Wissmann is accompanied in the same way by two notables, and then begins the slow entry into the town. A splendid white mosque looms up out of the darkness and then vanishes into it again; for the rest, there are brown mud houses, which seem to have been built without much order. After about five minutes we have passed through the place and see, against the slopes of rock débris, the great el-ᶜAṭṭās house with its many small windows lighted up. The house has just been rebuilt and enlarged, and, therefore, the upper storey has not yet been whitewashed. A brother of Ḥasan and ᶜAluwī comes with an uncle to greet us. This brother has had a Dutch, ᶜAluwī an Egyptian, and Ḥasan an Indian education. The uncle was an officer in the Ḥaḍramī regiment of the *Niẓām* of Hyderabad. The reception in the great *madjlis* is of short duration, and we then go upstairs to have a meal on the spacious roof-terrace in company with the nearest male members of the family.

2. SOME GOOD DAYS IN ḤUREḌA.

A fine, clean guest-house is assigned to us for our quarters during our stay in Ḥurēḍa. This has the great advantage of giving us a place of privacy and rest, as we only meet visitors in the family-house of the el-ᶜAṭṭās. On the next morning (May 20th) a gathering takes place there to introduce us to the inhabitants of Ḥurēḍa. These things are done democratically here. High and low, old and young are present at such a meeting, even the Bedouins of the caravan, the guard of soldiers belonging to the house, our slave soldiers, and the younger members of the family. The only thing is that the young people and the subordinates keep somewhat in the background and take care not to make any noise that might disturb their elders. The old and wise men of the place are together. The young men's group has, however, an important place, being organized by the driving power of Sayyid Ḥasan

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

into an association of the el-ʿAṭṭās family. The idea of the association is an importation from Aligarh, where Sayyid Ḥasan studied at the Muslim University; it brings a modern element into the public life of Ḥurēḍa.

There is much discussion over the political situation in Egypt, the Yemen, the Hedjaz, Netherlands India, and in the country itself. This last subject is the most painful. Of course the question is put, under general attention, whether Holland is prepared to appoint a consul in Ḥadramaut. My answer to this is that Holland would like nothing better, but cannot do so. She would wish it, in order to strengthen the bonds which have existed for centuries past with the most distinguished families of Ḥadramaut, and also for the extension of the trade of Java and Holland with Southern Arabia. But it cannot be, because there is no unity here and no responsible ultimate authority. To whom should our Queen turn and who would be able to take the responsibility for her representative? This argument is well understood and it is a matter of grave pre-occupation to them. To relieve the painful situation thus created, I express my appreciation of the unexpectedly favourable conditions that I have found here after two weeks' journeying through very primitive regions. One observes here the influence of men who have seen something of the world. And yet I cannot help saying that those people achieve more in other countries, for example in Netherlands India, than in their own land. It is with great circumspection that we advise them to concentrate on reaching harmony amongst themselves and to devote their attention and energy to their own country. The "Hip! hip! hurrah!" mood is somewhat lowered by these conversations, but our contact with the large circle of attentively listening visitors is strengthened.

In the afternoon the notables come to show us the town. In front and hand in hand with the Governor of el-Meshhed, who seems to be the most influential man here, and followed by Von Wissmann conducted by Sayyid Ḥasan, we saunter to the great mosque which is rightly the pride of the people

4. A WONDERFUL RECEPTION IN THE GARDEN CITY SEḤĒL SHIBĀM.

491 The families of Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam are on the best of
493 friendly terms with the Sultan and arrange matters with him. A little later the great dark-red cars buzz through the gate and cross the *sēl*-bed in the direction of the palm-groves, called Seḥēl Shibām. Only in the last few years has the motor-car penetrated as far as Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has made this possible by the construction of motor roads. Motor-cars can, with great difficulty, be brought from the port of esh-Shiḥr to Terīm. The separate parts of the cars have to be transported on camels for a great part of the way.
562 From the road one can see very little of the palm-groves
529 and the summer pavilions in their midst; high mud walls shut
576 off the gardens from the gaze of passers-by. There is one exception to this, where the central point is formed by a new building in modern style. This is the club of the young men of Shibām; no women come here and so there is nothing to shut
312 off. A little further on the cars turn into the gateway that
342 gives entrance to the garden of the Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam.
● 197 This summer abode of their joint families is still uninhabited;
351 the time for moving from town to country has only just come. There is a well behind the house, from which oxen and donkeys draw up the water, clear as crystal, though tasting somewhat bitter. All around there are banana and papaya trees, pomegranate and lemon bushes as well as date-palms. The new summer pavilion is in the depths of the garden; our host has devoted his leisure to building it. It is a product of Ḥaḍramī imagination influenced by Singapore and Java. For the outer walls chaste, simple white has been abandoned and is replaced by soft green, rose and sky-blue. The great windows are framed by coloured ornamentation. Connected with the villa is a swimming-bath with a high parapet. One has a great longing for colour in this sunny land, where it is so lacking, and this fairy palace strikes a happy note among

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

the grey-green tops of the date-palms with the unchanging yellow-brown rocks in the background. The contrast between this part of Ḥaḍramaut and the desert of burning loam and sand, which scorches up the small, dying villages, is certainly great. To our regret we are only able to make a short stay in this land of enchantment, as the Sultan expects us at the palace for the evening meal. Our hosts take us back to the town and ask the Sultan whether he is willing for us to stay with them in their garden villa for the night. Permission is given and the Sultan even promises to spend the next day with us there. We eat alone in the palace; the Sultan retires after inviting us to draw up to the dining mat and to fall to. Afterwards by moonlight we return to the garden. Tea and pomegranates are served on a terrace. The conversation, carried on in Malay, is not fatiguing; our hosts make us feel how welcome we are and how much they appreciate this break in their very monotonous existence. When we wish to bathe in the swimming-pool we are provided not only with spotlessly clean bathing-gear but also with combs and scent. The moon shines in calm, silent splendour on the dark crowns of the date-palms, the water is clear and lukewarm. We ask ourselves over and over again: "Is this real? Is this actually Ḥaḍramaut, the secluded, the fanatical, the poor?"

Sultan ʿAlī bin Ṣalāḥ came, as arranged, on the following morning. He at once made searching inquiries as to our further plan of travel. We are here on the farthermost limits of the Qeʿēṭī territory and naturally the question arises: "What will await us among the Āl Kathīr?" We told the Sultan that our experiences would determine our return route. We should now go first to see the famous Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf in Terīm; if he approves and thinks it justifiable to take the risk, then I, at least, shall have to return by the shortest route, and that will be direct through the Ḥumūm territory to esh-Shiḥr. Sultan ʿAlī's advice is strongly against this, the road is dangerous and Sayyid Abū Bakr has only financial influence and no governmental authority. No, we must return to Shibām,

24: Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

sides, but shady during the day, where meals are served. One can see that we are nearing Terīm with its refinements of civilization from the iced water that is brought round here in huge thermos flasks. Sēwūn is the mother city of many Ḥaḍramīs who have amassed wealth in Java and the Straits Settlements. There is oriental exaggeration in the Sultan's greeting: "You are really the Sultan of this land, for more than half of its inhabitants are Dutch subjects", but there is a kernel of truth in it, for Sēwūn is deeply under the influence of Indonesia. Is not Malay perpetually spoken in the Sultan's entourage? Does one not hear that language in the mouth of the children in the streets of the town? All sorts of words from Java have been absorbed into the colloquial. The meals served are real Javanese rice meals (*rijsttafel*). Even the few horses that Sēwūn possesses have been imported from Western Java. According to the Sultan, there are some thirty Javanese women who have been brought here by their husbands and who will never more return to their country. The mixture of races can also be noted in the shape of the faces and the features of the children on the streets.

Conversation flows smoothly and is only interrupted by the *ṣalāt* and by meals. As the Sultan[1] has much trouble from enemies who work against him behind his back with the help of money earned in Java, it is not to be wondered at that he has many requests to make and much to say to the envoy of Holland. He would be glad to have the aid of Holland to subdue his enemies in Java. A Government edict threatening banishment from Netherlands India to all who should further a revolutionary movement in their own country would be considered sufficient here. During the following days there is a great deal of talk over this subject and others connected with it. Later on, in the sayyids' circle in Terīm, another additional question is raised, namely, that of the struggle between the Ḥaḍrami sayyids and the Ḥaḍramīs who do not belong to this privileged class, in which struggle they consider that the Government of Netherlands India takes a line which is too

[1] ['Alī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin AL Kaṯīrī, Sultan of Sēwūn -- ANALIST]

000 The heat of the sun drives us away, however, from our bare hillock, but the Sultan promises to give us the pleasure of another similar excursion in the evening. We shall meet again at lunch in the palace of the Sultan of Terim, who is to entertain us to-day.

353 342 It is exceedingly hot when, some hours later, we leave the garden city and proceed to the palace. We are received in a broad corridor, the only place where there is some breeze and, thus, some degree of coolness. The corridor is spread with beautiful carpets; at one end is a table with chairs placed round it, at the other end cushions lie on the carpets. The reception begins on chairs, but that does not last long. We are soon all seated on the floor, leaning against the cushions as is the custom here. The meal is served in a hall where there are two rows of pillars. Long and strong supporting beams cannot be obtained here, where wood is scarce and short; thus all large rooms have pillars to support the roof construction. A long table-cloth is laid over the carpets in the middle of the room. Seated around it with their legs crossed under them the great company, with few words and in a rapid tempo, feasts upon the excellently prepared Javanese "rice meal" (*rijsttafel*) laid before them.

[177] [264]

353 The mural decorations of the otherwise empty room consist of mirrors, old English prints, photographs of Java and Singapore and two large hanging clocks with musical chimes.

Tea is served in a small drawing-room with modern furniture. In Hadramaut, the new is less practical and less beautiful than the old and indigenous. It is so hot in here, with its coloured glass windows, that all are thankful when the meeting is adjourned.

508 489 In the afternoon the Sultan takes us by car to a broad plain where the mountain-wall recedes. He would like to make an aerodrome here and wants therefore to have our opinion. The aeroplane would be an ideal means of transport for the whole of Arabia, and especially for Hadramaut. Not only are distances great, the communications difficult and whole stretches

24:Meulen and Wensinck T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

The great cleanliness of the houses of the rich is very noticeable. The drainage from lavatories and kitchens runs down wide, square shafts into spaces destined for it in the lower floor, into which however, unfortunately, light penetrates so that they become good breeding places for flies. Bathrooms and also lavatories are partly fitted out as in the East Indies. Sometimes there are douches, and generally there are large brick cisterns for the bath water, which one scoops out to pour over oneself. Our host has a large refrigerator by means of which cold drinking-water is provided for the numerous guests and dwellers in the house, and fruits and sweetmeats become the refinement of pleasure.

Cooking in Terīm, as in Sēwūn, is very much influenced by Singapore and Java. Chinese cooks are responsible for the extensive rice meals that are enjoyed daily by dozens of guests. Many dried or tinned foods are imported from Java. Some kinds of vegetables are grown in the gardens of Terīm; the fresh fruits which are served at table are large oval melons and the first ripe dates. As the latter are rather scarce, last years' dates come to table prepared as paste, in cakes, sweet bread, etc.

Sayyid ʿUmar el-Kāf's house, like that of our host, is furnished in half-European style. Old-fashioned Indian rocking-chairs stand on the beautiful carpets. A bed, rigged up in the Javanese manner, decorates the great reception-room. The bed linen is not white, but pink. There are many mirrors on the walls and also photographs of the family's estates in the Indies. Sayyid ʿUmar is the owner of the great Europe Hotel in Singapore; he shows us with pride — and no wonder — the model of the new hotel, which makes an impression magnificently American. The walls are further decorated with Mausers and American repeating rifles, which are hard to obtain in this country and, consequently, are worth a great deal.

It had already struck us that the Kathīrī soldiers were better clad than those of the Qeʿēṭī. The number of pro-

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Aden MM1
Yemen ML1

Conclusion

If Aden were to exert itself to become the cultural capital of the area of which it is the centre, it could attract all that is best in that area to it, and they could take back the best that British culture could offer them. For in Aden, if anywhere, is the chance for Arab culture and British culture to mix on equal terms and to produce something worth while.

I think it is apparent from what we have seen of South-West Arabia that British culture and Western education alone are not going to make a strong appeal to the principal elements in the country, and in many ways it would be dangerous to give too much of it undiluted. It is by no means clear how many people with a Western education the W.A.P. is going to be able to absorb, and discontented educated people unsuitably employed can very well create trouble and discontent by no means divine. The Yemen is afraid of too much Western education and a Zeidi Government will do all it can to discourage it.

Taking the country as a whole, there are first of all the very fertile highlands of the Yemen, where almost any temperate crop could be grown; lower down are the mountains of the 4,000- to 6,000-foot level, mostly barren but with good cultivable areas; and then there is the huge area of desert mountain and coastal plain with only occasional oases. The Yemeni highlands are the preserve of the Zeidis, a most exclusive people. The rest of the country is mostly populated by settled and nomadic tribesmen of Shafi'i persuasion, with here and there in the Yemen and the Hadhramaut large towns with an urban population and commercial or cultural interests. About a fifth of the population of the Hadhramaut are seiyids. The whole of this area, whether independent Yemen or protected chiefdoms, is independent minded and places Islamic culture far above any other, and we for our part have no desire to threaten its independence or its culture.

The academies of the Yemen and Hadhramaut are poorly endowed, but they are always full with students, who live on a starvation diet in order to get their education. As another pointer to the demand for Arab culture, look at the three bookshops of Aden. In them it is possible to buy most of the great Arab classics of the Abbasid period and Arab Spain. All the shopkeepers tell me they find their best buyers among up-country visitors; the young men of Aden buy, when they buy anything, modern books and translations of novels from the Cairo presses.

If we provided Western education only, it would in the end attract people to it, but the risks of doing this are considerable. Has Western education been an unqualified success elsewhere in the East? There is no space to discuss this much-discussed question here, but I think on the whole it is safe to say that there are a good many who would agree that there are aspects of what we have done which are open to criticism and that the results of it all have not on the whole been too happy.

Considering, therefore, what was achieved by the culture centres of old, such as Cairo, Baghdad, and Damascus, and that the south has never had a cultural centre to compare with them, and considering that there is much we can offer of our own culture which need not be destructive of Arab

H 439 314 Two products of southern Arabia are frankincense and myrrh, which are both obtained from the sap of trees that grow on the damper hill slopes above 3,000 feet. The sap is collected in late spring and early summer, before the onset of the rains, mainly by migrant Somalis and other Africans. At one time there was a considerable trade in these products with the north, and tradition speaks of an 'Incense Route' somewhere in south-west Arabia, along which caravans moved northwards to Medina and the Levant. Nowadays the output of frankincense and myrrh is very much smaller, most coming from the uplands of Dhofar.

H 224 Towards the east, as relief declines and rainfall diminishes, cultivation becomes more and more precarious, and fishing is the main occupation. Large quantities of shark, tunny, and sardines are caught (Chapter X), most of which are dried as food both for humans and for camels. In addition, an oil is prepared from the fish for use in woodworking. Mukhala and Shihr are the chief fishing centres, and in these towns rows of fish drying in the sun for food, and rotting in heaps to produce oil, are prominent, and according to some visitors, unforgettable, features.

H 439 With a barren hinterland, many activities in southern Arabia centre on the sea; and, in addition to fishing, trading by dhow is important. The Arabs of the south are the Greeks of the Indian Ocean, and cargoes are carried between East Africa, Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and India—even, at times, the East Indies. From their sea-trading, the natives of Aden and the Hadhramaut derive a livelihood that allows the import of foodstuffs into the country—as it is, local production of food is quite insufficient to maintain the existing population, and part must come from the outside. A cosmopolitan outlook, and wide commercial contacts, strongly contrasting with conditions in the Yemen, are strikingly indicated by the architectural styles in southern Arabia, which are very greatly influenced by East Indian models. Many storied houses, with elaborate woodwork and carving, are most characteristic. After a life of trading, perhaps with many years spent away from his country, the southern Arab often returns to Aden or the Hadhramaut with a small fortune that will keep him in comfort for the rest of his life.

H 177

A 304 Aden is the principal town of the region, and its harbour, the only good one along the entire coast, from Bab el Mandeb to Muscat, is formed by a deep bay partially enclosed by two volcanic necks. The town, of 40,000 inhabitants, owes its development to British

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a tannery, and a textile plant. This preference for German firms is rather remarkable.[4] However, Yemen authorities claim that American and British firms were not interested in these concessions.

The terms of the oil concession are reported to be based on a capital and profit division of 75 per cent to Yemen, and 25 per cent to the concessionaire. This may explain the lack of interest of American and British firms whose oil concessions in other petroleum-producing countries are on a 50/50 profit-sharing basis, without local capital participation. Furthermore, the Yemen concession is to run for only twenty years (compared with sixty-six years for the Saudi Arabian concessions), provided oil is found within five years. According to the available geological information, the outlook for finding oil is not too encouraging as the highlands of Yemen consist primarily of rocks which are geologically devoid of oil. However, the narrow coastal strip and the lowland deserts do offer possibilities. Here there is a complication. Because of the absence of definite boundaries, the eastern deserts may be claimed either by Saudi Arabia or by the Aden protectorate.

Yemen also has hopes of discovering commercially utilizable quantities of gold, silver, copper and iron ore, which were all formerly mined in the highlands.[5] Considerable areas in the wadis below the highlands are reported to be suitable for the cultivation of cotton, provided modern methods of irrigation are introduced. Even if no oil is discovered, the change in the attitude towards foreigners and towards innovations may bring about far-reaching economic and political changes in this state.

In 1938, a subsidiary of the Iraq Petroleum Company (in which British, Dutch, French, American and other capital participates) obtained exploratory oil concessions in the Aden protectorate. So far no discoveries have been reported. The sheiks and sultans of the area have lately opened their territories to a limited number of foreign travellers, mostly surveyors. Emigrants who had settled in India, Malaya, and Indonesia and who have returned, particularly to Mukalla and the Hadhramaut, have contributed not only experience gained overseas, but some capital as well. Regular motor and air transportation[6] is now available. Several irrigation schemes have been established in the western Aden protectorate, at Abyan, where crops of high quality cotton are grown. The greater internal security resulting from the organization of regular police protection against tribal raiders (a combination of the British Royal Air Force and local jeep patrols) has also contributed to economic development. Local fisheries have

[4] The oil concession was granted to Deilmann Bergbau, German oil producers who also have a concession in Spain.

[5] United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, *Review of Economic Conditions in the Middle East, 1951-52*, E/2353/Add. 1, ST/ECA/19, Add. 1 (New York, 1953), 126.

[6] At least one foreign trading firm in Aden flies its own plane regularly to various points in the territories to pick up local products and deliver imports.